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The Suffragist

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THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY

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Drawn for The Suffragist by Nina E. Allender

Guard: This Does Not Mean You; Everybody But You

National Woman's Party

(Incorporated, 1918)

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Notes of the Week

Many Women Elected to Office

REPORTS from many Western states show that many women have been elected to state and local offices in the suffrage states. In Nevada one woman was elected to the state legislature and one as regent of the state university. In Utah three women have been elected to the lower house of the state legislature from Salt Lake City and one woman has been elected to the state senate. For the first time women have been elected to the California legislature—four women, all Republicans, three without opposition, have been chosen. Colorado, Kansas and Wyoming elected women state superintendents of public instruction and Colorado elected besides two women members of the state legislature. Arizona will have two women in its new legislature.

One of the women in the Arizona legislature, Mrs. Rosa McKay, succeeded in the last session in having passed a minimum wage law for the women of her state, in spite of the organized opposition of both Democrats and Republicans. She had to fight almost single handed against blocking and delays in bringing up her measure and finally won in the lower house by two votes.

In state and local offices Kansas probably has more women officeholders than any other state. Very few women who ran for election in this state in the recent election failed to secure the offices they sought. It is estimated that in Kansas more than two-thirds of the county superintendents of schools are women, nearly one-half the county clerks, county registers of deeds, and clerks of the court and one-third of the county treasurers.

New York at its first full suffrage election has sent two women to the legislature.

Senator Moses Takes His Seat

THE party control of the Senate for the next Congress, beginning March 4, may depend upon whether or not Mr. Moses, Republican, or Mr. Jameson, Democrat, will hold the seat from New Hampshire. There will be an investigation to determine which man was elected since the vote was close and charges of fraudulent practices on the part of Republicans in the election have been made. Senator Moses has taken his seat pending the result of the investigation. There was some discussion as to whether or not he be allowed to take his seat. Two Democrats urged that he be sworn in as a member. These two men were Senators Underwood and Reed, the two doughy suffrage opponents. The only apparent advantage that could be derived by these two Democrats by the seating of this Republican, would be the hope of defeating the suffrage amendment. Can it be possible that the gentleman from Alabama and the gentleman from Missouri would rather lose their party's control of the Senate than see the suffrage amendment passed?

Senator Baird Has "Nothing Against Suffragettes"

SENATOR Baird, of New Jersey, has written to thank the anti-suffragists for the support they gave him in his election. This is the first indication we have had that the anti-suffrage association took any part in the campaign in New Jersey. Their campaign was evidently of that quiet type which effaces itself so completely that the other campaigners did not meet it anywhere.

The Senator's letter is worthy of repetition.

"While the suffragettes made a lot of noise and tried to throw dust in the voters' eyes, your organization did a great deal, in a quiet way, to counteract the campaign of misrepresentation and abuse which, directed from outside the State, aimed to defeat me and elect a Democratic Senator.

"I have nothing against the suffragettes in general. The women who want the franchise have the right to use all proper methods to gain their end, just as the women who oppose it have. The suffragettes sent their orators and agitators from many States into New Jersey and boasted that with President Wilson's aid they would defeat me.

"I had no political patronage to give or promise, while Mr. Hennessy had the President, the fountain head of Federal patronage, at his back, and the suffrage organization supplied him with ample funds, doubtless the camouflage support of the Democratic National Committee."

We should like to know what Senator Baird thinks became of that 70,000 normal Republican majority in New Jersey, which dwindled away to about 5,000 when the strength of the suffragists of the National Woman's Party was used against it.

Senator Lodge and Poland

SENATOR Lodge has introduced a resolution into the Senate demanding a free Poland, and so it has been demonstrated that the Senator is not fundamentally opposed to freedom as he has seemed to be, judging by his stand on the federal suffrage amendment. He would like to see the Poles enjoy that democracy which he is most influential in denying to American women. The Senator wishes to see the President supported to the extent of extending the fourteen terms in the case of Poland, but he would not advocate the support of the President when the President urges independence for women.

Will There Be Women at the Peace Conference!?

GROUPS of women in various parts of the country, have almost immediately upon the declaration of peace passed resolutions or sent messages to the President urging that at least one woman be sent as a delegate to the peace conference. A convention of the federation of women's clubs of New York state has taken such action, and also the woman's committee of the council of National Defense of the State of California. Should an American woman be appointed she would undoubtedly not be the only woman to sit at the conference. It is not necessary to make any arguments in favor of the justice of appointing women to the conference.

Women Labor Unions to Send Representatives to State Legislatures

ORGANIZED women workers are arranging to have representatives present at the sessions of all state legislatures to look out for the interests of the women workers. Since forty-three state legislatures out of forty eight will meet in 1919, this is an important piece of work. It is said that the Pennsylvania legislature will endeavor to break down the standards against night work for women. In Wisconsin employers are already making plans, it is alleged, to lengthen the working day of women, which is already ten hours long.

Miss Van Kleek Predicts Increase in Women Workers

MISS Mary Van Kleek, director of the women in industry service of the Department of Labor has said in regard to the readjustment of labor from a war to a peace basis: "It is time to establish wages on the basis of the occupation and not on the basis of sex." She has issued a warning of the danger of women remaining in certain industries or being placed in new ones at a lower wage than that paid men; she urges the immediate withdrawal of children under sixteen from industry. In her opinion the number of women in industry will increase rather than decrease with the coming peace. Every woman working, as Miss Van Kleek is, for improvement in the conditions of women workers must feel the constant handicap of the lack of any governmental power in the hands of the women themselves. Now that peace has come the winning of such power should be the first interest of all women.

Oklahoma Suffrage Referendum Successful

IN spite of the fact that the first returns from Oklahoma indicated that the suffrage referendum in that state had failed, the final count shows that suffrage has won by something more than ten thousand majority. There were actually cast for suffrage about twenty-five thousand more votes than were cast against it. As it was necessary to receive for the state amendment a majority of all the votes cast in the election this majority was reduced. There are now fifteen full suffrage states, meaning fifteen ratifications of the federal suffrage amendment at the earliest opportunity after its passage by the Senate.

Paris Council Endorses Suffrage

LA Petit Parisien reports that the municipal council of Paris will request the Chamber of Deputies to adopt a law granting suffrage to women.

Will Women Demand Their Rights?

By Paul Hanna

Washington Newspaper Correspondent

IF woman were what she has seemed
And not the creature we have dreamed,
But only bonnets, hose and paint—
If woman were—but woman ain't!

—*Parody.*

If, to resume, woman were a vegetable, a poison gas or some other useful commodity which the nation had mobilized to help win the war, it would be easy enough for any of us men to outline her post-bellum status.

She would be put back in storage, dehydrated, drydocked or in some other manner treated to insure the least possible shrinkage of her commercial value. We have had a very intensive education in commercial values and no education at all in any other values. Nearly all the reconstruction proposals that I have noticed so far are framed very candidly in terms of foreign trade, domestic taxation, transportation rates, reduction of wages and the like.

It is quite clear, then, that if women do not wish to be treated in the demobilization purely as commodities of second or third rate consequence—since there will be plenty left no matter how many spoil—they will stop asking: "What are you going to do with us?" and make up their minds what they are going to do with themselves.

Women ask only for justice in the new world. Of course. But while Justice is a very lovely lady she has a scandalous weakness for heroic admirers. As between any number of suitors she has ever and always gone to those who would fight to possess her.

People who get justice as a donation—as divers subject nationalities are shortly supposed to do—commonly find it is tied with many strings to the doner, or that they, by not having demanded it, are not prepared to enjoy it.

AMERICA'S "subject nationals" are her women, chiefly, and I urgently warn them not to imagine that Congress or the general peace conference will grind out justice for them as they are expected to grind out new maps and tariff laws.

Even though it be made "safe for democracy," the world will remain a place in which acute and cohesive minorities will strive to keep or to increase their advantage over the unorganized mass of women and men. And to do this strife and jealousy will be encouraged among the victims of injustice.

The men's union of street railway workers in Cleveland recently petitioned the War Labor Board to authorize the dismissal of 170 platform women who had come forward to help out in the labor shortage. Department of Labor investigators first urged the retention of the women as absolutely necessary and wise, and then, within ten days, reversed themselves and concurred in the demand of the men that the women be dismissed. The War Labor Board ordered that they be retained, for the present.

I don't know whether many women would prefer to work on street cars, if given a wide choice, but it is evident that they will remain a despised and inferior caste in American life so long as they permit themselves to be blown about before the convenience or prejudice of others.

As a class, women on the railroads have been advanced from floor scrubbers to ticket sellers and baggage room attendants by the exigency of war. By the exigency of peace they will surely be returned to the lowest ranks again unless they insist upon an industrial and political classification based squarely upon merit.

Jugo Slav deputies and bricklayers' unions demand a share in the peace making. They trust in the benevolence of no alien flatterer. In the peace making that will proceed in America for a decade to come woman must either know and demand her rights or prepare to get along without them.

Women and the Right to Labor

By Minna Lederman

ONE hundred and seventy women have brought a very ticklish question before the War Labor Board. Shall American employers be encouraged to suspend people from work on the simple charge that those people are women?

On Sept. 21, the Cleveland Street Railway Company, on the demand of the Street Railway Union, discharged without cause one hundred and seventy women conductors. The order was wholesale, including every woman employed on the cars, and should have gone into effect on the first day of November.

Though they are still working today, the future of these women, and, indirectly, the status of all women in industry, hangs in the balance. Florence Allen, the Cleveland lawyer whom these conductors have engaged, called their protest to the attention of the War Labor Board which thereupon issued an order to the Company to retain the women in its employ until their case had been considered.

But what further action this mediating body will take, or even whether it will take any at all, is still a matter of conjecture.

On Friday, Nov. 8, a public hearing was held before the full Labor Board, at which were represented the women conductors, the company, and the men's union which has been so concerned in this case, division 268 of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. Florence Allen appeared for the women, and presented her argument, complete and concise, within an hour and a quarter. Vahey, the lawyer retained by the Amalgamated Association, and Rea, the business agent of Division 268, appeared against them.

THE testimony offered at this hearing developed a situation extremely interesting and equally important. The case of the women vs. the Cleveland Street Railway Company is one of those controversies in which the issues are clean-cut, and for once a root problem of the industrial woman was stripped of all gossiping divergencies. The stand-pat position of organized male labor against the introduction of women into industries hitherto exclusively male, has been recorded, arbitrary and unashamed.

For the order to discharge the women came, in the first instance, not from the Company, but from the union, Division 268. The Company has been anxious not only to take women into its employ, but to retain them.

DIVISION 268 has consistently maintained a Bourbon tone against the women, opposing their employment before it was a fait accompli, threatening their removal while they worked, and insisting to this day that the question of their discharge is a question that concerns only itself and the company.

According to undisputed testimony, the Cleveland Street Railway Company carries every day about one million passengers. One-third of these are estimated as engaged in war production. Early in 1918, the shortage of male labor resulting from the military draft was so great that the Company conducted an extensive advertising campaign to fill its vacancies and so maintain as nearly efficient a war-time service as possible. In February, one of the officials of the union itself made the statement that the Company lacked 400 men of its regular working force. The Company was compelled to lower its standards for applicants, with the result that accidents on the street cars increased; and still the Company was unable to fill the gaps in its service.

Reduced by war-time necessity, the Cleveland Street Railway Company put the first women employees on its cars, August 31. Almost immediately the men of Division 268 began to agitate for their discharge. As their business agent, Rhea, phrased it before the Board, the men threatened to "suspend work" unless the necessity of retaining women on the cars were investigated.

The Company, therefore, came to an agreement with the Union and Mr. Faulkner, the Federal mediator for Cleveland, to request an investigation from the Department of Labor. If it should be found that no necessity for their employ existed, the women were to be dismissed.

On Sept. 21, Henry Dielmann and Margaret Russanowska, representatives from the Department of Labor did so find, and the women, in ac-

cordance with the agreement, were given notice of their discharge.

IT is about this agreement and investigation that the controversy centers. The agreement, as Miss Allen, the women's attorney, pointed out, is in itself an interesting arrangement. One curious feature is the representation of the women. Though a hundred and seventy women, with whom the Company had made contracts, were perhaps most vitally concerned in a transaction affecting their discontinuance in service, not one of them was asked to be present.

THE question, which made the basis of the investigation, was: "Is the Cleveland Street Railway Company justified in employing women conductors by a shortage of men power?"

The women claim that what is pertinent in this situation is, not a study in the numerical shortage of man power in Cleveland, but the shortage in *suitable* man power. It has been their contention throughout that a higher grade of labor is at present available for car conductor service from the ranks of women than from the depleted ranks of men.

A conductor's job, they say, is eminently suited to women. It requires no mechanical skill, it demands intelligence and courtesy rather. It is a clerical position more than it is anything else.

An undisputed fact in this controversy is the excellence with which the women have performed service. The public and the press of Cleveland have testified again and again that their work affords the utmost satisfaction. And at the hearing the President of the Company expressed his whole-hearted approval of the women as workers.

They work the same number of hours that men do. They begin in the order of seniority that is proper on the street railways, with the night shifts and long runs. They have never asked or been given anything else. And finally they have tried to gain entry into the union.

According to an agreement between the Company and Division 268, new employees must, after sixty days, present themselves to apply for membership in this local of the Amalgamated Association of Street and Electric Railway Employees. At the stated time the women came.

They were refused permission to join the union, and two reasons were forthcoming. One official said the union would not like to take fees from them, since they were to be discharged in a month. It would not put them to such needless expense. The women insisted they were willing to incur this expense, whereupon a second official laid the real objection before them—that membership in the union protects against discharge without cause!

To explain such a procedure, it is necessary to realize the attitude that prompts it. This was very well expressed at the hearing by Attorney Vahey, who, after maintaining that the controversy was nobody's business but the union's and the company's, and that the War Labor Board could and should have no jurisdiction whatever in this matter, summed up the antagonism of his clients in these words: "We don't want women employed on the street cars."

Stated with heat this sharp sentence exactly represents the "bothered" feeling which possesses the conservative male when women turn with adventurous steps toward his particular domain. Women entering new fields are still suspiciously regarded as poachers.

Before the War Labor Board, their chief complaint is that the agreement to discharge them constitutes a lockout. The Board's principles and policies rest on the declaration that "There shall be no strikes or lockouts during the war."

But finally they allege that this agreement is in violation of the right of women to labor, and to be kept in employment as long as they perform satisfactory service.

It is this right which is really on trial. If it is not maintained by the War Labor Board, the woman in industry will carry the struggle with her into the period of reconstruction.

Oregon's Protest Against the Democrats

By Clara Wold

"THE women of the West—for-Senator Organization send greetings to you." I looked long at the lovely roses that came with the words. This was the first message I received when I arrived in Portland, Oregon, after a hurried trip across the country from the headquarters of the National Woman's Party in Washington.

I had gone all the way to Oregon to take a message from the women of the East to the voting women of that state asking them to vote against the man whose party had failed to pass the federal suffrage amendment, failed to support its own leader, failed to secure two more votes for the amendment even though we lacked but two votes of passing it.

All through those days of traveling through the middle West and the West I had gone over in my mind the fight of four years ago when a member of the National Woman's Party had come to us in Oregon with the same kind of plea. So many women had responded at that time that the Party won the everlasting and bitter wrath of the Democratic leaders of the state and their press.

In the years that had slipped by since then, they had continued their mutterings so persistently that they had failed to hear their own party members shouting in Congress all the reactionary arguments they could invent against their own party leader. They had raged helplessly for several years against the Woman's Party and now just when they had imagined that they had blasted the party entirely by refusing to mention us ever again on their pages, another woman was coming into their midst to tell about the failure of the Democrats to pass the federal suffrage amendment.

Already the papers were out. They had appeared on the train with huge headlines announcing this new campaign. They predicted that there could be no campaign against the Democrat candidate "West-for-Senator." They shrieked that the Woman's Party would only gain votes for West by fighting him. In their terror over what the Woman's Party was accomplishing in many other states they screamed with rage because the Woman's Party was injecting life into the election in Oregon

The Republican Central Committee looked on amazed and dumb. They had not expected any life to enter into this fight. It was impossible to hold meetings so long as the influenza ban was in force. Bill-boards were not permitted, dodgers could not be distributed on the streets. There had been nothing to do. The Democrats were right—nothing could be accomplished in trying to fight ex-Governor West.

There were but six days for the campaign. There was but one way to get the message from the East to the West.

The Democrat organ, *The Journal*, had been most generous with its space in attacking the Woman's Party for two days. They had opened the campaign for the Woman's Party as no other paper could have done. Within twenty-four hours, women from all parts of the city were calling me up to tell me that they would vote against the Democratic candidate. Others offered to telephone to all their friends.

Another day passed and still others began calling me up. "I wish you had never come here to our state. I have to spend all my time telling people why you are here, and explaining that it's alright about ex-Governor West," said one indignant woman.

"Don't come into my office again until after the election," roared one Democrat when I went to see him to make a friendly call.

"You aren't a Democrat," yelled another man at me. "You can't be a Democrat and not accept whatever the Democrats do."

I meekly reminded him that I had once served for two years as a Democrat judge of elections in Portland, Oregon.

"You ought to be ashamed of yourself," he snapped forth.

"I am," I replied, whereupon he left me quite by myself.

Another day had gone by when the Republican State Central Committee decided that it was possible to campaign against Mr. West.

All through the city, women carried on the work of telephoning to other women. The papers carried the story of the Democratic record on the suffrage amendment through the state, the Oregon branch of the National Woman's Party campaigned vigorously, and on the day of the election Oregon women and men went to the polls to express their protest against the party that failed to enfranchise women of this country.

Oregon has responded to the appeal of the women of the East and sends back to the Democratic Senators "Greetings—with twenty thousand majority votes against the Democratic candidate."

THE NATIONAL SUFFRAGE AMENDMENT

Proposing an amendment to the Constitution of the United States extending the right of suffrage to women.

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled (two-thirds of each House concurring therein), That the following articles be proposed to the legislatures of the several States as an amendment to the Constitution of the United States, which when ratified by three-fourths of the said legislatures, shall be valid as part of said Constitution, namely:

"ARTICLE—SEC. 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of sex.

"SEC. 2. Congress shall have power, by appropriate legislation, to enforce the provisions of this article."

THE AMENDMENT IN THE SIXTY-FIFTH CONGRESS

Introduced

In the Senate, on April 4, 1917, by Senators Thompson, Owen, Jones and Shafroth.

In the House, on April 2, 1917, by Representatives Raker, Rankin, Mondell, Keating, Taylor and Hayden. Reintroduced in the House December 18, 1917, by Representatives Rankin, Raker, Hayden, Taylor, Keating and Mondell.

Referred

In the Senate, to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

In the House, to the Judiciary Committee.

In the House all resolutions reintroduced on December 18 were referred to the Committee on Woman Suffrage.

Reported in the Senate

Favorably September 15, 1917.

Reported in the House

By Judiciary Committee without recommendation December 15, 1917.

By Suffrage Committee with recommendation January 8, 1918.

Present Status

In the Senate

on the calendar awaiting a vote.

In the House

Passed January 10, 1918.

HISTORY OF THE AMENDMENT

Drafted

In its present form, by Susan B. Anthony in 1875.

First Introduced

January 10, 1878, by Hon. A. A. Sargent, in the Senate.

Reported from Committee

In the Senate

1878, Adverse majority.
1879, Favorable minority.
1882, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1884, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1886, Favorable majority.
1890 Favorable majority.
1892, Favorable majority, adverse minority.
1896, Adverse majority.
1913, Favorable majority.
1914, Favorable majority.
1917, Favorable majority.

In the House

1883, Favorable majority.
1884, Adverse majority, favorable minority.
1886, Favorable minority.
1890, Favorable majority.
1894, Adverse majority.
1914, Without recommendation.
1916, Without recommendation.
1917, Without recommendation.

Voted Upon

In the Senate

January 25, 1887. Yeas 16, nays 34. Absent 25 (of whom 4 were announced as for and 2 against).

March 19, 1914. Yeas 35, nays 34, failing by 11 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

October 1, 1918. Yeas 54, nays 30, failing by 2 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

In the House

January 12, 1915. Yeas 174, nays 204, failing by 78 of the necessary two-thirds vote.

January 10, 1918. Yeas 274, nays 136, passing by the necessary two-thirds vote.

The Suffragist

Editor, Miss Clara Wold

Cartoonist, Mrs. Nina E. Allender

Subscriptions: Domestic, $1.00; Foreign, $1.50. Single copies 5 cents. Make checks, drafts, and post-office orders payable to The Treasurer of the National Woman's Party

Columbian Printing Company, Inc., Washington, D. C.

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The End of the Session

THE Congress of the United States formally ended its second session at five o'clock Thursday, November 21.

During the afternoon of this last meeting one subject was discussed by the Senators—the necessity of self-government for all peoples. Senator Reed, of Missouri, who voted against the enfranchisement of women on October 1, led the discussion. During this long afternoon while the Senate extolled democracy for Europe, women demanding democracy for America, were, without any pretense at lawful procedure, thrown down the Capitol steps, dragged to the guard-room in the Capitol cellar and locked away from counsel and friends.

The President and the Democratic Party must bear the responsibility for the closing of the Senate with suffrage still denied to the American people. The Democrats are in control of the Senate and are responsible for its inaction on suffrage. They have less than one hundred days in the next session, beginning the second of December, in which to remove the stain left on their record by their defeat of the measure in the present session.

We demand that the President put all his strength into seeing that when Congress meets in December, this measure is passed before any other is considered. We demand that before the President leaves to promote democracy for Europe at the peace table, he devote all his power to establishing self-government for the people at home.

Until the Senate passes this measure, America must, as the suffragists declared at the Senate doors last Thursday, enter the Peace Conference with unclean hands. While women are still arrested at the Capitol for asking for their political freedom in America, our government cannot expect to be regarded by the rest of the world as sincere in her protestations of interest in democracy for Europe.

Woman's Party Advisory Council Meeting

WITH less than one hundred days left for winning the passage of the federal suffrage amendment in this session of Congress, a conference of the National Advisory Council and the State Chairmen of the Party has been called to meet in Washington Dec. 14, 15, and 16. The meeting is called so that the Executive Committee may lay the emergency plan of the party before all branches of the party.

"We have about one hundred days in which to secure the one vote and bring the suffrage measure up for consideration," says Mrs. Rogers. "Unless we secure the passage of the amendment in the Senate before March 4, all that has been gained by the victory in the House of Representatives will be lost, and we will have to begin the whole campaign over again."

WOMEN will come to Washington from all parts of the country for this conference and will cooperate in plans to meet the desperate resistance that the anti-suffragists are making in the hope of delaying the amendment for another session of Congress.

The conference will last for three days, opening with a meeting of the Advisory Council at 10 o'clock on the first morning. Mrs. John Rogers, Jr., of New York, as chairman of the Council will preside. Officers of the Advisory Council for the coming year will be elected. The officers at present include besides Mrs. Rogers as chairman; the vice-chairmen, Mrs. Avery Coonley, Illinois; Miss Susan P. Frost, of South Carolina; Mrs. Edwin C. Grice, of Pennsylvania; Mrs. Agnes H. Morey, of Massachusetts, and Mrs. Alden Potter, of Minnesota. Miss Marion May, of New York, is the secretary.

Following the election of officers, an open session will be held at eleven o'clock at which the state chairmen will be present. Miss Paul will outline the situation and explain the general plans of the Executive Committee for the discussion of those present. The budget for the next few month's work will also be considered.

At 2:30 o'clock on the same day, Mrs. Rogers will preside at a meeting for general discussion. Reports from the various state chairmen will be heard at this session. In the evening a dinner will be held at the Headquarters.

On the second day of the conference, a mass meeting will be held at three o'clock at the National Theatre, at which Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, of New York, will preside. Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Philadelphia, is chairman of the arrangements for the meeting. Resolutions to be presented on the following day to the Senate will be passed at this meeting.

In the evening a reception to the council and State Chairmen will be given by the members of the District Branch with Mrs. Henry Attwater, recently elected chairman of the District, in charge.

THE third day of the conference will be given over entirely to a demonstration at the Capitol in which women from all over the country will take part, making a direct appeal to the Senate to pass at once the amendment which places American women on an equal political basis with the women of England, Russia, Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Holland, and even Austria and Germany.

This demonstration will call the attention of the whole country as well as the Senate to the fact that women in America are now driven to the necessity of demanding consideration of their appeal for justice to themselves.

At the Conference delegates will be appointed to represent each state in carrying petitions to the Senate on the day of the demonstration. There will be a delegate for each Senator and each Representative in Congress, making a line of five hundred and thirty-one American women appealing for immediate justice in this country. They will march upon Congress at noon on Monday, December 16, carrying resolutions of protest against the delay of the amendment in the Senate, and appeals to all members of Congress to push for its immediate passage. In the line of march each of the women will carry the purple, white and gold flag of woman's freedom, making a long line of color up Pennsylvania Avenue.

Preceding the gathering of the Advisory Council in Washington, there will be a meeting of Executive officers of the Council in New York, at the home of Mrs. John Rogers where a detailed outline of suggestions will be made to lay before the Council in the conference.

Call to Conference of National Advisory Council

SINCE the election we are, for the first time, within one vote of the two-thirds majority in the Senate necessary for the passage of the national suffrage amendment.

We have about one hundred days in which to secure the one vote and bring the measure up for reconsideration. Unless we secure the passage of the amendment in the Senate before March 4, all that has been gained by the victory in the House of Representatives will be lost, and we will have to begin the whole campaign over again in a new Congress.

Since the campaign began upon the Senate in January, 1918—following the passage of the amendment in the House—we have won ten votes of the eleven lacking at that time. If we won ten votes in ten months, there can be no question but that we can get one vote in three months.

To do this, however, will not be easy, as our enemies know that they are now in the last trench and are offering the most desperate resistance which we have yet encountered. Now is the time for women to lay aside all other work and for three months concentrate on securing the enfranchisement of American women. It is our last chance. It looks as though the women of all other lands would be free before we are, unless we win our freedom now.

The Executive Committee of the Woman's Party desires to lay the whole situation before the National Advisory Council, in order to have its advice and co-operation in meeting this emergency. As chairman of the Advisory Council, I am asking all members to meet at the Headquarters at Washington, Saturday, Sunday and Monday, December 14, 15 and 16. I am also asking all State Chairmen to join in this conference and to bring any members from their states whom they think will be helpful at this crucial time.

ELIZABETH SELDEN ROGERS,
Chairman National Advisory Council.

Connecticut Branch Elects Officers

MEMBERS of the National Woman's Party are rejoicing in the announcement that Mrs. Thomas N. Hepburn, of Hartford, Connecticut, has been elected chairman of the Connecticut branch of the organization.

Mrs. Hepburn, who resigned the presidency of the Connecticut Woman's Suffrage Association a year ago to become affiliated with the National Woman's Party, is one of the best known suffragists in the state and has devoted much of her time in the past year to the activities of the Woman's Party.

The Connecticut branch is very fortunate in having such an able chairman to succeed their former untiring leader, Mrs. W. D. Ascough, who has given up the work because she is leaving with Mr. Ascough to make her home in New York. Mrs. Ascough had been identified with the Woman's Party in many ways. She was one of the group that went on the Suffrage Special tour of this country, and since then has most successfully organized the Connecticut branch under her leadership. She has picketed the White House and taken part in many of the suffrage demonstrations in Washington, and last August was one of the group that served a jail sentence and went on a hunger strike.

Other officers of the Connecticut branch who were elected at the same time as Mrs. Hepburn are: Mrs. George P. Chandler, secretary; Mrs. M. Toscan Bennett, treasurer.

Fifty Thousand Dollar Drive For Democracy

THE final drive to secure the one vote needed to pass the federal suffrage amendment through the Senate has opened with a campaign for a fifty thousand dollar fund to finance the fight. The national executive committee of the Woman's Party at its last meeting decided to make a rapid drive for this fund throughout the country to put the campaign through during the hundred days remaining in the present Congress.

The appeal for funds was opened in Philadelphia, where over $3,000 was raised at a luncheon at which Miss Alice Paul, National Chairman, and Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, of Pennsylvania, chairman of the finance committee, spoke. The first donations to the fund were started by Miss Mary A. Burnham, who contributed $1,000; Mrs. Pope Yeatman, who contributed $1,000; and the Pennsylvania Branch of the Woman's Party, which also pledged $1,000.

A GATHERING in New York for early December, will be organized by Mrs. Henry Leach, at which the appeal for funds from New York will be made. Mrs. Leach is being assisted in her campaign by Mrs. O. H. P. Belmont, Mrs. John Winters Brannan, Miss Doris Stevens, and Mrs. John Rogers. Mr. William K. Vanderbilt, son of Mrs. Belmont, opened the New York drive by a gift of $5,000.

At the convention of the New Jersey Branch of the Party, which will be held in Newark, December 3, Miss Paul will tell of the need for funds. Other meetings are planned for all parts of the country. Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, one of the most brilliant and best known speakers in Washington, will leave this week for a tour in the Western States, where she will appeal to the women who already have the vote to contribute to this fund. She will make an appeal for funds, among other places, in Denver and Colorado Springs, in Colorado; Cheyenne, Laramie, and Rawlings in Wyoming; and in Helena and Great Falls in Montana.

Meetings in Massachusetts for the raising of money are being held by Mrs. Florence Bayard Hilles, of the National Executive Committee of the Woman's Party. The meetings have been arranged by Mrs. Samuel Warren, Chairman of the Maintenance Committee of the Massachusetts Branch.

The District of Columbia branch has also agreed to raise $1,000 under the leadership of Mrs. Henry Attwater, the District chairman.

THE fifty thousand dollar fund will be spent to rouse the whole country to voice its demand for full suffrage in this country. Women and men throughout America cannot read without resentment the words of German women, who say "we are all free voters." They can most easily express their protest against those who have delayed this freedom in our country while demanding that we fight for it in our enemy countries, by piling up a fund that will finance the winning of one vote and possibly more for the immediate passage of the federal suffrage amendment.

Campaigning Three States For One Vote

WILL Idaho, Louisiana or New Hampshire give the one vote needed to make this country as democratic as Germany for whose political and economic enlightenment the women and men of America have been fighting?

The National Woman's Party this week opened its final campaign of one hundred days for winning one vote needed to gain the political freedom of America. The fight has been concentrated on the three Senators who have announced that they have not yet decided how to vote when the amendment is again considered—Senator Gay, of the South; Senator Borah, of the West; and Senator Moses, of the East.

In the last ten months the Woman's Party has gained ten votes for the federal suffrage amendment. In that same time nearly all of the old world has extended suffrage to women. It should be very simple, then, to secure one more vote for woman's freedom in America within the next three months.

ALREADY the Woman's Party has sent as campaign organizers to Louisiana, Miss Vivian Pierce, of San Diego, formerly editor of THE SUFFRAGIST, and Miss Lucy Branham, of Baltimore, who will take charge of the state work under the leadership of the Louisiana chairman of the Woman's Party, Mrs. M. L. Graham-Bankston, of New Orleans. Miss Pierce will make her headquarters in New Orleans, and Miss Branham will tour the state, visiting the rural districts as well as the towns.

The women of Louisiana have just met the discouragement of defeat in their campaign for state suffrage and will enter into this fight with much greater feeling than ever. They believe that their newly elected representative, Senator Gay, who is a suffragist, will take this opportunity to secure a national reform as well as a state reform if the people of Louisiana let him know that they are in favor of suffrage through national amendment. They will make a vigorous fight to turn their recent disgraceful defeat into a victory for the whole country.

THE women of New Hampshire are equally determined to win the one vote from Senator Moses, Republican, against whom they campaigned in the November election owing to his refusal to state his position on the amendment. Miss Clara Louise Rowe, of New York, and Miss Betty Gram, of Portland, Oregon, as Woman's Party organizers have remained in New Hampshire to help the women of that state in their renewed appeals to Senator Moses. Since Senator Moses has stated that he will vote favorably if the New Hampshire legislature endorses the amendment and asks him to vote for it, the campaign will be centered on the state legislators.

MESSAGES and letters from men and women of Idaho are pouring in daily with assurances that Senator Borah will certainly change his vote on the amendment for he has won re-election to the Senate through the support of the Republicans and the Non-Partisan League, both of which have endorsed the suffrage amendment in their platforms. Senator Borah has constantly refused to make any statement about his vote on the amendment until after the election, and the leaders of all the civic and political organizations of Idaho are hoping every day to receive a public announcement from him that he will vote "yes" the next time the amendment comes before the Senate.

Miss Margaret Whittemore and Miss Mabel Vernon have been in charge of the campaign in Idaho and have organized such strong protests against the previous vote of Senator Borah that he now admits that his mind is open to the demands of his constituents. They will remain in Idaho to continue the organization of protests and appeals and will again get the Republicans and Democrats of the state to draw up resolutions asking for Senator Borah's favorable vote. The demand for this vote is particularly intense in Idaho, for the women have

the vote in that state and have stated over and over again that they have returned their Republican Senator in spite of his vote on the amendment because they have felt certain that he would not again make the mistake of voting in opposition to the demands of his constituents since he has run for re-election on two platforms, both of which endorse national suffrage.

WHILE this campaign for the one vote is centered on Senator Gay, Senator Borah and Senator Moses, none of the thirty-four wilful Senators have been left out of the fight. The Woman's Party hopes that some of these men will change their minds, particularly men from the South, where the sentiment for the federal amendment has grown surprisingly in the past year. In Texas and Arkansas the women vote in the primaries. In Florida many prominent officials and many organizations are working for the passage of the amendment, and Mississippi, Tennessee, Kentucky, South Carolina, Louisiana and New Mexico have all sent Senators to Congress who are supporting suffrage.

Senate Recesses While Women Are Arrested

THE Senate of the United States recessed on Thursday, November 21 without considering the federal suffrage amendment. Suffragists protesting on that day against the recess were thrown down the Capitol steps, in accordance with the usual custom of America's Senate, and were dragged helplessly into the guard room in the cellar of the Capitol.

A crowd of indignant men and women followed the police to the doors of the basement, but because the men and women continuously repeated that they thought the action of the police was an outrage, the police captain ordered everyone but the prisoners to stay outside.

THIS is the first time arrests have been made since it was declared by the Supreme Court that the detention of the women without a charge being placed against them was illegal, and that there was no law under which the banners could be held. The suffragists were held for half an hour after the thug-like police had finished hurling them against the walls of the corridors of the Capitol and had growled forth their fury against an American public that dared to express its sympathy for full suffrage.

The banner carried by the suffragists read:

"American women protest against the Senate's recessing without passing the suffrage amendment.

"America enters the peace conference with unclean hands if democracy is denied to her own people.

"The nations of the world cannot trust her motives if she preaches democracy for all Europe while Americans are arrested for asking for it at the Capitol."

NOT only were the women arrested for carrying this banner and for carrying the tricolors of woman's freedom, but Policeman No. 21, who has probably had more complaints entered against him for brutality than any other policeman in Washington, threatened to arrest a man in the crowd because he said, "Surely, I believe in woman suffrage." According to Number 21, every citizen of the United States who utters these words is little less than a criminal and should at once be placed under arrest, without any charge being brought against him and, of course, without any of the rights of American prisoners; he should be treated just as suffragists are; he should not be permitted to communicate with any friends and certainly he should not be given the right of seeing his counsel.

The women taking part in the demonstration on Thursday were Miss Alice Paul, chairman of the National Woman's Party; Mrs. Lawrence Lewis, Philadelphia; Miss Elizabeth Kalb, Houston, Texas; Miss Clara Wold, Portland, Oregon; Miss Berthe Arnold, Colorado Springs, Colo.; Miss Sarah P. Gregan, of Georgia; Miss Julia Emory, Baltimore; Miss Matilda Young, Mrs. Nicholas Kelly, of New York; and Miss Olive Beale, of Washington; and Miss Maude Jamison, of Norfolk, Va.

The men and women in the crowd who took part are unknown.

MISS Paul, after her release from the guard room, declared that "the party in power and every member of the United States Senate is responsible for the treatment visited upon American women asking for the democracy which this government is establishing throughout Europe."

Mrs. Lewis said: "It is inconceivable that a body of the people's representatives should permit their constituents, appealing to them for a redress of grievances, to be abused and injured at the doors of the Capitol."

Miss Wold, who has just returned from Portland, Oregon, was twice knocked down on the Senate steps by the guard arresting her. Miss Wold said: "I feel that everything the guards do is done under the orders of the Democrats who are in power. Their insults and brutalities are, in fact, insults and brutalities visited upon us by the Senate itself. Senator McNary, after the last arrests, protested to the sergeant-at-arms and telegraphed the women in Oregon that he believed that no more arrests would be made. I have wired Senator McNary that no attention whatever is being paid to his protests. The women of Oregon, Democratic and Republican alike, are indignant over the treatment of women demanding their enfranchisement. Fifty telegrams in one day were sent to the President and Senate."

Miss Jamison said: "The order of the court, declaring our detention and the seizure of our banners illegal, had no effect on the guards. Their treatment of us was as brutal as on any of the other occasions. It is an intolerable insult to all the women of the nation that the United States Senate permits its employes to indulge in such brutality."

Miss Emory, organizer of the demonstration, made the following statement concerning the arrests: "American women would show themselves recreants in the present world struggle for democracy if they were not willing to risk everything to secure the triumph of self-government over the autocratic forces of this Senate."

Miss Kalb declared: "It is only because the people of the country do not realize the obstacles thrown in the path of women seeking enfranchisement here in Washington that they permit these injustices to continue."

Miss Arnold said: "As a woman voter it is hard for me to believe that for seeking the same privilege for all women that I myself possess I am arrested at the Senate doors and man handled by the Capitol police."

Mrs. Nicholas Kelly states: "The guards were positively ferocious. They fell upon Miss Paul and dragged and pushed her about as if in a rage. Miss Wold was shaken by the guards like a rat. It is degrading to be touched by such toughs as are employed as Capitol guards."

Following their release from the guard room the women went to their Senators to protest. The Senate was still in session and numerous Senators were unquestionably disturbed over the actions of the Capitol Police, which have continued with growing brutality for some weeks.

A few had watched the struggle of the women to get away from the guards who shoved and dragged them about, but had not interfered in any way. There were still several hours left before the Senate would adjourn, but no Senator felt sufficiently moved to protest against the men who have ordered this defiant ignoring of American rights, nor did any of them suggest that the federal suffrage amendment be considered. And so the Senate adjourned with the amendment still waiting upon the favorable vote of one Senator.

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COLLECTIONS FROM DECEMBER, 1912

List of Contributions from Nov. 11 through Nov. 18, 1918

Contributions made to National Headquarters:

Per Charleston, South Carolina Branch:	
Miss Sophie Brown	$ 1.00
Mrs. Charles G. Simmons	1.00
Mrs. Duncan Robertson	1.00
Mrs. R. G. Thomas	1.00
Mrs. Marion S. Simons	1.00
Mrs. F. W. Fowler, Iowa	25.00
Pennsylvania Branch	300.00
Miss Flizabeth T. Delano, Mass.	1.00
Mr. F. M. Davenport, N. Y.	25.00
Mr. Arthur Capper, Kans.	25.00
Mrs. Louise M. Garnett, Utah, collected	5.00
Mrs. Mary Farnum Woodward, Colo.	250.00
Per Maryland Branch:	
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Miss F. Trail	5.00
Miss M. Willis	.50
Mrs. T. W. Forbes	3.00
Mrs. Soper	5.00
Mrs. Calvin N. Gabriel	25.00
Mr. John E. Greiner	10.00
Miss Gladys Greiner	5.00
Mrs. Maxwell Zerrndorf	1.00
Mrs. Augusta Kelly, D. C.	2.00
Mrs. Lowery, D. C.	5.00
Collection meeting at National Headquarters:	32.27
Miss Clara Louise Rowe, Cal.	5.00
Miss Vivian Pierce, Cal.	5.00
Miss Sara P. Grogan, D. C.	10.00
Miss Carrie Harrison, D. C.	10.00
Mrs. Agnes Chase, Ill.	10.00
Miss A. D. Connolly, D. C.	1.00
Miss Daniel, D. C.	.50
Miss Moses, D. C.	.50
Miss Mary A. Burnham, Pa.	1,000.00
Membership Fees	19.00
Total collected by National Headquarters	1,795.77
Previously acknowledged in THE SUFFRAGIST	364,465.08
Total collected by National Headquarters through Nov. 18, 1918	366,260.85
Total collected by Branches through Nov. 18, 1918	71,239.02
Grand Total	437,499.87
Deduction:	
Transferred from Branch Headquarters to National Headquarters	4,181.50
Grand Net Total	$433,318.37

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PERSONS SECURING SUBSCRIPTIONS TO SUFFRAGIST NOVEMBER 6 TO NOVEMBER 12 INCLUSIVE

Charlotte Alspaugh	1
Alice Sanger	1
Mary Gertrude Fendall	2
Mary D. Brite	2
Mrs. Bertha Moller	4
Mrs. Geo. D. Scott	1
Helen E. Vaughan	1
Mrs. E. C. Evans	1
Illinois Branch	1
Iris Calderhead	1
Florence E. Ranger	1
Anita Pollitzer	9
Agnes H. Morey	2
Dora G. Ogle	1
National Headquarters	3
E. L. Sickmon	1
Alice Paul	1
Florida Branch	1
Miss Sarah James	1
Miss Emily N. Bright	1
Wisconsin Branch	1
Margaret Whittemore	1
Alice Wood	1
Louise Garnett	1
Mrs. Clara Snell Wolfe	2
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Comments of the Press

Give the Women the Vote

AS the first step in domestic reconstruction, let us have woman suffrage. Away with sex in citizenship! Democracy with one-half the people unenfranchised is one-half despotism. Our women have earned the vote if it be a privilege. They have proved their claim to it, if it be a right. They have failed in no duty to the country, living for it and dying for it. They have kept up in our fighting men the high, enduring heart. They have given brothers, husbands, sons and sweethearts and themselves withal. This is the only English-speaking country that has not given women the vote. Let us prove our faith in our own principles by making our democracy complete. How about self-determination for that great and glorious nation—woman.—*William Marion Reedy, Reedy's Mirror, Nov. 15, 1918.*

Suffrage Influence

MEMBERS of the National Woman's Party, on the other hand, attribute the defeat of the amendment solely to the Democratic Party. The Democratic Party had the power to pass the measure, and it didn't do it. Moreover, more Republicans than Democrats voted for it and, anyway, the policy of the National Woman's Party is to fight the party in power. They are very much gratified by the President's interest in the matter, which they attribute entirely to the effect of their pickets before the White House. As soon as the President exerted his influence for the passage of the amendment, the National Woman's Party magnanimously forgave him.

That the suffragists are quite capable of influencing the result of elections is now no longer denied. In most of the states both Republican and Democratic parties have hastened to place a suffrage plank conspicuously in their platforms.

Thus, the suffragists are confident in their own strength, which is rapidly increasing in the states. For a long time there was a man in the New York state legislature who greatly irritated the women of his state. Whenever they attempted to get a bill through the legislature shortening the hours of women's work, or prohibiting the employment of young children, this man blocked that bill. When the war broke out and the women organized to fight the abrogation of labor standards, this man always interfered. Whether his vote was aye or nay, it was always against the interests of the women. Then the women of New York got the vote. And this year, this man was compelled to withdraw from the election, so overwhelming was the defeat in store for him. This man is only one of many throughout the states who felt the full weight of the suffragists' big stick.

* * *

Furthermore, the suffragists are constantly gaining in numbers, for they make it a point to get out and drive their flocks within the fold. They are seeing to it that where a woman has a vote she uses it. She is taught how to use it, and why. So it happens that a mere man traveling through an Italian settlement in New York not long ago was amazed to hear two Italian women, green peppers and babies in their laps, lauding the child labor law and arguing as to whether or not the supreme court of the United States should be abolished.—*Frederick J. Haskins.*

Foredoomed to Downfall

THERE has been much crackling of thorns under the pot—which is scripture for "the laughter of fools," over an alleged inferior quality of suffrage patriotism. Antis everywhere have vaunted their own brand and boasted that they were ready to leave all that they have to follow the President's leadership in war.

On October 1 they had a chance to show their loud cymballed patriotism. But instead of showing patriotism at all, thirty-four anti-suffrage Senators flatly refused to follow President Wilson's war measure of equal, universal franchise without regard to sex. They rejected franchise reforms here just as the Junkers in Germany have rejected franchise reforms there, and for the same reasons. And the watching suffragists are smiling as they check off the names of these Prussianized Senators. They are saying in effect:

"Suppose it had been suffragists who had been asked by the President to do a certain thing for the good of the country? Suppose he had called this thing 'necessary to the successful prosecution of the war?' Suppose he had urged this upon them earnestly and had owned that their refusal would be an obstacle in the way of winning the war? Suppose he had made his request as Commander of the Army and Navy, seeking a necessary war measure? And suppose the suffragists had refused? By what names would the anti-suffragists characterize such 'wilful' women?"

It is by just such names that the suffragists characterize the anti Senators, disloyal, petty and selfish. Time has forever passed when any group of people, men or women, can array itself against the mighty urge for human freedom.

One may live in Potsdam or Vienna, or he may live in Massachusetts or Missouri, but if he refuses to follow the beckonings of political liberty, he belongs to the group which is foredoomed to downfall and the suffragists can afford to smile. They can also afford to check off on their fingers the names of the wilful Senators. —*Life and Labor, November, 1918.*

Women Will Get Votes

BET all your money and bet it on this: Congress is going to give women the vote.

The revolution in Europe is stampeding the Democratic leaders towards woman's suffrage.

Women in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Bulgaria and even Turkey will have the vote in the new governments.

A study of that first European revolution, the Russian one, justifies this statement.

In the forming of new governments the right of women to vote will not even be questioned. It will go without saying.

The party that prevents American women from having the vote, while women in the governments that have been turned toward democracy by the United States, have full voting rights, is not going to be beloved by American women.

A race between the Republicans and the Democrats in Congress to pass the federal amendment to the Constitution, giving women full citizenship, is already under way.

If this Democratic Congress refuses to pass the amendment the Republican Congress will do so.

Party leaders on both sides have started out for the honor of granting the full vote to women.

It's a flareback of the German and Russian revolutions.

In revolutionary Russia, even Turkish women have the vote. There is a special election day for Turkish women, so that they may go to the polls without exposing themselves to the view of male voters.—*Washington (D. C.) Herald, November 21, 1918.*

Those "Petticoat Bolshevists"

THE Chicago Tribune—see The Other Side—would like to believe that the "petticoat Bolshevists," as it calls the suffrage pickets, have not been getting anywhere with their peculiar species of propaganda

Under ordinary circumstances that kind of propaganda would not be justifiable. If they had ballots with which to secure the reform they desire, there would be no occasion for them to use other methods.

But it is the ballot itself that they are seeking. Being disfranchised, their hands are tied and they can not avail themselves of the usual means of exerting political influence

They are much in the same position as a man who has been locked in his house by burglars. Not being able to get out at the door, he will clamber out of the window, even though it does look somewhat undignified. It gets him out anyhow.

And the methods used by the pickets have proved themselves to be effective—*The Tribune* to the contrary notwithstanding.

Does anybody believe that the President would have put the suffrage amendment through the lower house if it had not been for the activities of the pickets?

Does anyone believe that he would have made his belated attempt to put it through the Senate if it had not been for their activities?

It would be very nice to gain suffrage by the use of "profound reasoning." That is the way all of us would prefer to gain it.

But when you have used profound reasoning for half a century, and unscrupulous politicians have laughed at you and put you off with a grimace all of that time, it gets somewhat stale.

We believe that is about the way the pickets looked at it. They do not want to live and die without suffrage. They want suffrage now. So they decided to use methods that are calculated to get it now—methods that politicians can understand—*Milwaukee Leader, Oct. 17, 1918.*

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